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843 for you. The child gets in the right position for coming out if you move around. The more you are a coward about it, the worse it will be for you."

842 Little attempt is made to control the sex of the expected child.
843 Whether or not such control is possible is a moot point. One informant told of "a ceremony which causes them to have a boy or a girl. It is performed right at the beginning." The man was unable to supply the details, however. On another occasion the same person stated that, if a man scrapes his foot over the four sides of the woman in labor, a boy is born; but, if a woman touches the four sides with her hand, the baby is a girl. Most commentators discount these claims:

> There are lots of people here who would control it if they could, like D., who has all boys and wants a daughter.

> Whether it's a boy or a girl is in Yusn's[1] power; that's the way I look at it. Some shamans say they can control it, but I believe there is nothing to that.

843 However, the activity of the child during the prenatal period furnishes a clue to its sex. A fetus which "has lots of life" is presumed to be a male; a less active one, a female. Estimates of the length of pregnancy are approximately accurate.

[578] [754] It is essential for the expectant mother and her husband to avoid acrimonious clashes with others. "A pregnant woman has to keep out of fusses with other women because many are witches, and, if she quarrels with them, they may harm the child. The husband has to be careful of witches, too, when his wife is pregnant."

844 [602] At the onset of labor pains close female relatives of the woman attend her. Her mother, her mother's sisters, her mother's mother, and her older sisters are members of the relationship group from which assistants are most likely to come. If the husband's family lives near by, his mother or sister may be present. [759] When a woman skilled in midwifery is numbered among these relatives, no outside help is asked. Otherwise the service of a woman who has special ceremonial and practical knowledge is sought. Such a woman is often selected on the basis of "the good luck

[776]

[1] A deity known also as Life Giver.

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868 by your mother, and you can learn all the time. I have to train this boy. Of course, he may not hear part of the time, but I have to tell him what he should do, what he has to go through."

868 462 All adults feel the responsibility for furnishing the child with information appropriate to his age and sex:

The boys watch the men when they are making bows and arrows; the man calls them over, and they are forced to watch him. The women, on the other hand, take the girls out and show them what plants to use for baskets, what clay for pots. And at home the women weave the baskets, sew moccasins, and tan buckskin before the girls. While they are at work, they tell the students to watch closely so that when they reach womanhood nobody can say anything about their being lazy or ignorant. They teach the girls to cook and advise them about picking berries and other fruits and gathering food.

867 554 Not much importance is attributed to distinctions of status, but there are band and local group leaders and their families who are conscious of their position and good birth:

The word [good status] includes the idea that they are better educated in the Indian way. More pains are taken with such children; they are kept out of mischief more. They should not resent things easily. They are supposed to be [578] better bred. Quarreling should be beneath them. That is why, when a man is unreasonable or insulting, they say, "Even though you are of worthless stock, you should try to hold yourself back." I hear lots of boys of good families being [521] instructed by their parents. They are told to act accordingly. I heard one girl called down by her father for gossiping. She was told that those of her family did not do this and that she was acting like a trashy person.

"These people," said another informant, "don't want their children to get in any mixup; they are jealous of the reputations of their sons and daughters." So important did training in childhood loom to this man that he added: "A leader's son never fails to make good, for he is trained and advised from boyhood up to manhood."

867 574 576 The difference in social atmosphere with which various families surround the child has been noted thus:

At our camp my father and mother used to say, "Respect whoever comes to your camp. If it is just at mealtime when they come to your camp, just tell them to sit down. Then feed them first." Most of these Indians are this way.

But there are great differences among different families. I've noticed it. A man might have visitors at his home just about mealtime. His wife might cook

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869 When I was little I was told about death. According to what I was taught as
765 far back as I can remember, when someone died he would never come back to
this world; he was gone. I was told that I must therefore never again call his
•578 name, for I might accidentally say his name in the presence of his parents or other
761 relatives and they might scold me for it or slap my mouth. The parents taught the children that it is an insult to another person to call the name of his dead relative. If I was a little fellow and didn't know any better, someone might have slapped my mouth; then the families might have been angry, and there might have been trouble.

869 I was told that you never watch burial parties just to see what is going on.
764 Men and women show that they sympathize with those people who are carrying their relative to the mountains by getting out and crying when they go by, even though they are not related. You should never watch unless you are crying like this for them. Children should not watch at all.

869 At first, little attempt is made to enlarge upon the precise place of the owl in the death complex. But, as the child grows
825 older, the nexus between ghost and owl is clarified:

775 When I was young this is what I heard the old Indians say about ghosts and owls. They said that owls are part of ghosts. A night or so after a death you hear an owl close to the camp where the person died. Not only in that camp but in other camps near by the people hear that owl calling. They say, "That person is back over there again!"

[768] They claimed that if the dead man had a horse left alive there, or if any of his clothes were there, he would come back every night until his possessions were destroyed. He would come back after his things. If you had not destroyed what belonged to the dead man, the things he had had his hands on during his life, the owl would come every now and then, perhaps often, they said. Then it might bring sickness or bad luck to that family. That's the way I heard it long ago.

[789] And so to prevent sickness, if an owl cried around the camp, they set fire to a stick of wood, carried it outside, and threw it in the direction of the owl. Then it stopped [hooting].

869 In the following excerpt an informant recalls the manner in
775 which his father sought to satisfy his curiosity concerning the destination of the dead:

I asked, "Suppose I die. Where would I go?"

My father said, "When a man dies he is just like any human being and is just transferred to another state. He is in another world. There are mountains and rivers there as there are here." He called it the underworld. He said, "The habits you have on earth are carried with you. If you are a bronco-buster on earth, you would be a bronco buster in the other world. If you play hoop and pole on earth a great deal, you play that game all the time in the underworld. Whatever a person is accustomed to do on earth he will be doing down there."

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name of the child of the one he is addressing. In discussing anyone, great care is taken to say nothing critical or abusive concerning him before his parents or his children. One man told of a series of fights he initiated by uttering the remark, "Your father is messy around the ankles." He knew very well in advance what the consequences of that observation would be. In a Coyote story the trickster, after being skinned and jeered at for having a "red shirt," retaliates against his tormentors by shouting, "It's your father who has a red shirt!"

Despite the affection and regard which mark the parent-child relationship, it must not be forgotten that discipline and authority are the prerogatives of the father and mother. The daughter, especially, is conditioned to lifelong obedience to parental edicts.

Four terms, the equivalents of father, mother, son, and daughter, serve to express the parent-child relationship. The term for father can refer to no one else. The mother, likewise, is distinguished from her siblings. The parent-child terms differ from others of the kinship system in two particulars. First, they are not self-reciprocal; that is, the same term that is addressed to the son by the father cannot mean father when the son is speaking. Second, each term expresses one relationship only and is not extended to include collateral relatives.

Uncle, aunt-nephew, niece relationships.—Of tremendous importance in the child's life are the maternal uncle and aunt. The mother's sister is likely to be present at the child's birth. She may volunteer to nurse the baby if she has milk and the mother has not enough. She is a permanent member of the mother's extended domestic family. A girl will have intimate contact with this relative throughout life; a boy, at least until his marriage and departure from the encampment. In case the mother dies, this woman may be called upon to adopt or care for her sister's children. She may elect to marry their widowed father[1] and so become their stepmother. Or, since sororal polygyny is practiced, if she is younger than her sister, she may become the second wife of her sister's husband and, by a different route, attain the

[1] See pp. 421-25.

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privately ridiculed. Perversion seldom occurs and is not countenanced; it may even be equated with witchcraft.

The elders do not rely entirely on implicit attitudes and the demands of the training process to guard their children from undesirable sex scrapes but provide continual supervision as well. When an unmarried girl goes to social dances, she is accompanied by an older relative. Or she herself may be put in charge of a younger child so that she will not have time for an assignation. Her mother is strict and watchful. She tells the girl not to permit any intimacies from men or boys before her marriage and warns her about bearing unwanted babies. "A girl who goes wrong is usually one who has no close relatives, no mother, father, grandparents."

The mother, the grandmother, or some other female relative gives the girl counsel as the time for her first menses approaches. She is told that menstrual blood is dangerous to men and is instructed how to keep clean. She is encouraged to endure bravely the possible accompanying pain, for "as long as she acts like a child she is going to have a hard time at menstruation."

It is at this time that the girl may have a ceremony performed over her which results in sterility:

> No woman should be sterile. There is no excuse for any woman not to have children. That's the way my people talk and feel about it. The trouble is that those who are sterile have been ruined right when they came of age, about the time when they had their first flow. A girl's own mother might have a woman fix it so the girl won't have children. The father won't know anything about it. Sometimes the mother, who has had children and knows the pain and hard time of it, doesn't want her daughter to have children. There are women right now who know this kind of thing. S. and B. have had no children, and this must be why. Those who made us made every woman to have children without exception if not interfered with.

Often a similar charge is directed against a jealous shaman who has been called for some other service but who has taken advantage of the opportunity to injure the girl:

> We didn't have children for the first five years. We didn't try to prevent it. Then my wife found out that when she was young and sickly an old woman gave her some medicine. She didn't know it at the time, but it turned out to be medicine to prevent children. Some Indian women do this just for meanness.

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Her grandmother told her this. It was the same with her sister. Her sister had a child, but it took a long time.

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The boy is exempt from the strict supervision to which the girl is subject. They "warn the boy about having a bad reputation. Boys are instructed all right, but you can't keep a boy back."

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Yet there are a number of dangers against which the boy has to be warned. He must be advised that contact with menstrual discharges will make his joints swell and ache. He must also be told that "sometimes boys have sexual relations with old women; that is why they die." Because unmarried girls are so sedulously restricted, there is always the possibility that a youth may thus jeopardize his health:

Sometimes a boy would go around with an old, experienced woman. Bad blood gets into him from these bad women. He gets arm aches and leg aches. Sometimes he gets aching all over like this before he is thirty years old; sometimes he is dead from it before he reaches this age.

This is because he is giving his richest blood [semen] to these older women and getting nothing in return but their diseased blood [vaginal discharges] which they got from having intercourse over a long period of time with other men, some of them sick and old. The people laugh at a young fellow who does this. He gives his young, good blood and prolongs and saves that woman's life.

I know a woman like that. She is an older woman who has been having intercourse with all kinds of men. J. was a young man. He became intimate with her and was very sick almost at once. She is still living and still doing it. The young men just shorten their lives by going with women like this. The bad blood that they get from such women comes out in lumps and sore joints.

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It is usually the father who counsels the boy in these matters; often he adds frightening details:

I was taught by my father, "Don't do anything to any woman. They have teeth in there. They bite off your penis. And some have diseases." I've heard many parents say the same thing to boys.

Once my father gave me something sweet. He said, "You like this. You like to eat it; it tastes good. You like to live and be well. Then keep away from girls and women. Don't have anything to do with them. They have teeth and will bite off your penis."

Finally I asked some older boys about this. They told me, "No, the old people just tell that to you to scare you. There isn't anything to it. When you get a good thing, don't let it go. If you live long enough, you're going to do it anyway, so you're just going to be the loser if you let a good chance pass."

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want to. While you are out there, you can take up the mask and smoke cigarettes. It's all right. You are just entertaining the people. You don't have to keep away from women during the four nights of the dancing either. 535 [834]

There is great rivalry for the leadership of the masked-dancer groups: 535 578

I was dancing for T. once. E. was going to lead. I was going to be second in line. While we were being painted, E. said, "Watch me. I'm the leader, and the leader is supposed to be the best dancer." I just laughed.

They finished painting us, and T. said, "All right, go ahead." It was dusk by this time. We were late, for the fellows had been late in getting there. We could see the big fire over at the feast grounds. So E. started off. His mask was down over his face. He must have been blinded by the fire, for before you know it he went off the bank and into an arroyo! You could hear him go down, and then he was down there grunting. I had thought he was going wrong. I had the front of my mask pulled up. I knew how to wear it and could pull it up and still have it stay on.

I just laughed and laughed when he went down. I said, "Hey, leader, I can't follow you there." T. went down and got him. He was skinned and the horns of his headdress were broken. T. said, "You fellows go on and dance," and so we went on.

The next day I saw him standing there holding one arm. The news got around, and the people were laughing and calling, "A masked dancer fell in the arroyo! A masked dancer fell in the arroyo!" [522]

Accomplished dancers, in spite of the strenuous nature of the task, are reluctant to withdraw even when they grow old. "E. still dances. They have to pull his skin smooth to put the paint on. It is the same with H.; they have to stretch his skin. But they don't want to give it up." 535 [887]

If a dancer wishes to become a ceremonialist of this rite, his experience as an impersonator "makes it easier for him to learn." One prominent masked-dancer shaman, describing how readily he had mastered the details of his calling, said: "I learned so fast because I had been a dancer right along." [756]

While the masked dancers just described are being painted, another type of impersonator, the clown ("Gray One," "Long Nose," or "White Painted"), is being prepared also: 535 522 [776]

He wears a mask of scraped rawhide. Sometimes they make it with a big nose or big ears. He wears only moccasins and a gee string. The rest of his body is bare and covered with white paint. They say that it is good to be a clown before you dance as a masked dancer. Then you get used to the dances.

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save about four good masked dancers, keep them fresh. These go around for about an hour and chase all the people out to dance. They even chase them from their camps and get them out of bed. They bring out the girls and make them dance. The masked dancers do not push the people toward the dance grounds with their hands. They just make the noise and motion with their sticks. They get a girl and give their cry and bring her out. I have gone after them this way. Toward morning even the girl for whom the feast is given can be brought out to dance.

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The restriction against speaking lapses for the masked dancers at this time:

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The masked dancer asks a girl, "Who shall I get for you to dance with?" The girl says, "That man by the fire." So the dancer goes over there and pulls that fellow. The man never pulls back. He has to go and dance.

The relaxation of the masked dancer's semisacred role goes even further:

The last night the masked dancer can dance with any girl if she chooses him, and this girl has to be paid. But the feast-maker has to pay her for him. The masked dancer has been helping him all night, so of his own accord the feast-giver walks out there and pays the girl. I have seen that happen many times.

Every man has to compensate his partner at the close of the dancing:

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One time everyone was paying but one man. He had nothing with him, but he must have had some horses over at his camp. This man walked around there and picked up a dry ball of horse dung. He walked back to the place where the other men were paying the women. He went to the girl he had danced with and right before the crowd he handed her the horse dung. Even in those days very few knew the meaning of this. Horses were very scarce then, and it was pretty hard to part with a horse and give it to anybody.

The girl receiving the horse dung didn't know the meaning of it. She took it home to her people, to her camp. She told her father and mother, "This is all I got!"

Her father was an old man and knew what it meant. He told her right away, "That's more than the other people got over there. That means a horse; that man means he is going to give you a horse." Sure enough, that came true.

Upon the givers of the feast falls the responsibility of seeing that all participants are satisfied with their rewards: "If a girl is not paid and the boy runs away, she can go to the ones giving the ceremony or to someone in authority there and protest. This has been done." As a final gesture of appreciation toward

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he coughed up nasty yellow stuff that tasted bad. They said this came from smoking too much. The yellow in the tobacco just got in the stomach, and more and more accumulated until a person could spit it out. Sometimes a person got pretty bad and began to spit blood--have what you call hemorrhage now, I guess.

The Chiricahua thought you could catch this from someone who had it, and that you got it from having intercourse with someone who had it. So a man would be ashamed to admit that he was spitting blood or yellow pus for fear that someone would say he had had intercourse with a woman who had this.

The Chiricahua had remedies for this. Some used "narrow medicine" [*Perezia wrightii*] for tuberculosis.[1] But lots of them were ashamed and waited until it was too late to save them.

Love ceremonies.--Love ceremonies are carried on by some men and women for their own purposes or, upon request and payment, for others who seek them out. Though this type of ritual is not equated with witchcraft, "charmers" are seldom talkative about their art. The danger in wielding a love ceremony is that the person who is to be influenced may detect and resist the onslaught. "Often a love ceremony that fails or is improperly performed makes a person crazy. There is a ceremony to cure the effects of the love craziness."

Certain objects and motifs occur time and again in love ceremonies. The four-holed flageolet, made of carrizo, is one of these:

There were very few who played the flute. I've seen flutes played, but the Chiricahua didn't pay much attention to them. The flute must have come from the Western Apache. They use it a great deal. The Chiricahua feel that, when anyone is playing on the flute like that, it's not a good thing. It is connected with love magic, and they don't like it. Only people with love ceremonies use it, it seems.

Many charges concerning the possession of love power are undoubtedly inspired by rivalry and jealousy. Exceptional success in gaining the attentions of the other sex, or polygyny involving a man of but ordinary means, may lead to the same suspicion:

The hummingbird is ceremonially used. I think some use it in love ceremonies and to influence girls just as they use the butterfly. R., they say, knows this

[1] Tuberculosis can also be caused by worms. In a trickster tale, Coyote, wishing to deceive his family, tells them he has lung trouble and that they should leave him for dead if worms drop to the ground from his bed. That the "worms" may really drop, he takes spoiled meat to bed with him.

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832 578 825 ceremony. He got a young woman with it. Everybody knows he influenced her. She chased him all around, day and night, when she was a young girl. He's much older than she is. That girl was very pretty and he was ugly. They think he used butterflies. They say that he has been helping some other people with his power too. I've heard young fellows talking about it.

And they talk about another man that way too. It shows. He has two wives, one in secret. He's not good-looking; he hasn't anything. That's how you know. Some suspected N. of having love power because he had two wives. Some even suspect C. They say he's got a pretty fair-looking wife and doesn't do anything. They say anything about you these days.

They think that the time to perform this ceremony is in spring or midsummer when the butterfly is out. Then it works easier.

832 In an expansive mood, one man revealed that in his younger days he was "so lucky with the girls that many said it was love power." He added, however, "I swear that I never had one little bit of this power."

832 791 But there are practitioners who do carry on such ceremonies:

There are people who can make others love you. Their work is not considered a disgrace like that of a witch. If you are a man, you go to one of them and say that you want a certain woman. You must pay these people.

[82] In the ceremony they use the sun, the butterfly, and water. When they want to influence you, they splash water on you with the hand. Sometimes they have something shiny to flash in your eyes. Sometimes they take a piece of your clothing or your hair—something of yours is needed to work with. They sing to the sun. They think that the sun can stretch a net like a spider's net and catch a person in it.

I had a friend, an old man, who used to boast to me that he had such power. He married a young girl. I asked, "How did you get your wife?" He said, "I used power." I believed him because it looked queer to me. He was not good-looking either. He said that when he prayed to a girl he made her put on the nature of a butterfly. She would then fly here and there, take no responsibility, and have no worry about the future, and so you could make love to her.

[823] [192] The use of water is especially interesting, for the term meaning love power, while it does not yield to linguistic analysis in entirety, is evidently related to the word for water.

Concerning the reality of a love ceremony another informant said:

There was a man at Whitetail who knew the ceremony pretty well. He died about 1919. . . . . The old man, if I liked a girl, could be hired to get her for me. He would sing over the girl for me, and when he finished, the girl would come right in and sit down. Then she would love me forever and never leave me.

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The adjustments which avoidance requires are a constant source of humor: 606 522 602

One day J. and I were in the trader's store. The baker was bringing in a tray of bread and rolls, holding it before him. We did not see him and were in his way. Someone shouted, "You, get out of the way! Do you think this is food being carried to an avoided person?" He said that because it looked as if the baker was coming to wait on us with a tray. Everyone laughed.

The difficulties of avoidance under all conditions give rise to a crop of "mother-in-law jokes" too: 606 522

We have stories and jokes about the mother-in-law. A man will tell how every time he wanted to cross a path or do this or that, his mother-in-law would always come into sight. It sounds funny when told by an Indian in the Indian language.

But, in spite of such levity, the obligation to avoid the designated affinities is solemn. The avoided person is called "the one to whom I do not go," and all kindly disposed individuals are expected to sound the warning, "Do not walk here!" when an individual is about to come into the presence of anyone from whom he "hides." 606 602

Sometimes by accident you meet a person you should avoid, nevertheless. Then you just duck away as fast as possible. When it happens, a man gets angry at himself sometimes. He says, "I should not have gone here." Or he might blame his mother-in-law and say, "She had no business being around here." It is a custom violated, and we do not like it.

The gravest objection is not to the proximity of the avoided relative or to the sound of his voice but to the sight of him:

If I do not hide from my wife's relatives whom I am supposed to avoid, they will call me a witch. If I run into the woman from whom I am supposed to hide and do it right along, she gets angry and calls me a witch. They say you'll get blind if you keep looking at these in-laws. This one tells the other relatives and they may try to chase me away perhaps. But I love my wife and want to stay on. Sometimes the Chiricahua had a little war among themselves about things like this, and someone would get killed. [578]•

The average person takes little risk of jeopardizing his sight or of being considered a witch: 606

Often a mother-in-law will not take part in a social dance if she thinks it will expose her to her son-in-law. The same with a feast; both will not stay around at

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Then, too, you may have to go and talk to her about important things. If you are separated from your wife and you trust your mother-in-law, you may get the help of somebody at your mother-in-law's camp to see that she is safely inside so you won't run into her. Then, standing outside, you may talk to her.

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The father-in-law, too, may find it necessary to state his views directly:

I talked to that boy, her husband. I said, "I'm talking to you. This day means something. It shouldn't be wasted. This day means something to everybody. Every day means that you should bring in something to eat. Make it count; work and make something. If you have nothing to eat, your wife cannot cook anything for you. It's not your place to be angry at your wife because you don't have anything to eat. Look at her clothes. Many things rest on you. It's the man's duty to bring in the meat and clothes. You can't expect the woman to do that."

I said, "My daughter, it is your place to keep house. Keep everything neat about your place. Keep yourself neat the way you were when I was raising you. Wear good clothes. Keep your husband's clothes clean. Keep your fire going all the time. Quit running around nights and doing things as though you were single. Don't fuss at each other."

And I said to the boy, "A woman must be treated well because she feeds you; she's the only friend you have. Your mother and father can't treat you better than your wife does. That's the way I feel about my wife." I told him, "She's the mother of the whole thing, this life you have to go through, and you may have a long life."

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When quarrels arise among a man's affinal relatives, it is to his advantage to be as neutral as possible, so that his relatives-in-law, and particularly his wife's parents, will not condemn him for intrusion into their affairs.

Now there's trouble at my place. My wife's stepmother told her that a cousin said something about her. So my wife hasn't gone over to visit that cousin for a long time. The cousin sees me and asks me why, but I make excuses and never say. But then my wife met this cousin and told her the truth. The next day this cousin came over to the stepmother and asked, "Did you tell that woman I said so-and-so?" The stepmother said, "No." So now the cousin says my wife made it all up. I thought it best to let my father-in-law know that I'm not taking sides, that I'm only an in-law here. He says that it's all right, he does not hold it against me. It's the nature of women, and we shouldn't bother about it, he says.

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But it would be superficial to infer that the husband is constantly tyrannized by his avoidance affinities. They would be ill advised, indeed, to drive to divorce a man who is discharging

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606 his obligations to them satisfactorily. "The mother-in-law sticks
578 up for the son-in-law in case of trouble if he is known to be a good
596 man. The mother-in-law does not beat about the bush. She tells the person right out what is in her mind."

[178] That the son-in-law can expect justice and consideration is illustrated by a case, phrased in terms of present-day economy, which preserves values operative in purely aboriginal times. The
[156] son-in-law here assumes a passive attitude, for it would be unbecoming of him to voice his own demands.

606 If one of the sons is lazy and the brother-in-law does all the work, all the
607 herding, and, when they come to sell the sheep or to slaughter the animals, the
578 son wants his proportionate share of the proceeds, his father will say to him,
596 "My son, your brother-in-law did all the work. Now you want just as much of the profit as if you had worked. You must go and see your sister."

His sister says, "Take your bunch of sheep and put them in some other flock. Get someone who will herd your sheep for nothing! That's what you are looking for." The brother-in-law will sit by, keeping his peace.

606 Avoidance and honor comprise only one aspect of a man's
596 obligations to his wife's parents; the other facet is the duty of
[593] economic support. "A son may help support the old people if he desires to, but the son-in-law has to support them."

[224] If his father-in-law wants a son-in-law to do something, he has to do it. If he is given a bow and arrows, he has to go out. He is supposed to turn the whole deer over to his father-in-law and mother-in-law and not to take any unless they give it to him. The father-in-law and mother-in-law can share it with their neighbors if they wish to. The young man gives to his in-laws even if he is not ordered out to hunt by them.

606 This sense of identification with the economic activities of
596 the wife's relatives begins immediately upon marriage. "There is something about it so that a man helps his wife's people." "As soon as a man marries he feels that he should work for his father-
606 in-law and mother-in-law." The connection between this eco-
591 nomic tie and the rule of residence is again emphasized. "It is
596 usual to live with the wife's people. In the old days the boy had to work for his father-in-law. If a man killed two deer, he would give most of it to his wife's people." But so strong is the sense of economic obligation to the wife's parents that its dictates are heeded even when, for some reason, matrilocal residence is not

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maintained. One informant said, "Now I live a mile or so from my mother-in-law. I always want to help her though, for she is alone and getting old." [591]

This assistance is accepted as a matter of course and is viewed as a right by the older affinity. "A man would come to a son-in-law for aid before he would approach anyone else, even his own brother." Requests made of a brother are a test of fraternal solidarity and are seldom refused, but they constitute a tax on the generosity of one who has obligations in other directions. To approach the son-in-law instead relates to a primary economic duty. [593]

Although the son-in-law (because he is younger and more vigorous than his wife's father) is called upon for the most arduous duties of the extended family, he, too, derives benefits from the arrangement, for "he may take anything belonging to the parents-in-law, not because they are rich or poor, but because that is the rule."

Often, in the economic exchanges that follow a marriage, the son-in-law is by far the gainer. He may come to his wife's relatives as a young man without many possessions. The older members of the encampment which he joins may be wealthy and influential. Whatever of their goods he needs he may use freely, and the reputation of the family advances his interests.

It occasionally happens that an affinal relative takes advantage of the son-in-law. One man was considerably piqued because his mother-in-law, who had carried away untanned hides from his home with the understanding that she would keep some for herself and return the others tanned, had conveniently forgotten the latter part of the agreement. He was particularly irritated because nothing could be done about the matter, since it was his mother-in-law who was involved. 606 596 578

On the other hand, there are cases where a man has attempted to elude the claims of his parent-in-law:

> This year I had to make J. help my other son-in-law put up my camp at the grounds of the girl's puberty rite. I asked him a first time, and he sent word that he was working. I knew he wasn't doing a thing. So I sent someone with word that he had to do it, and so he did.

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through that ceremony. This happens a good many times. It happened with S. and P. not long before S. died. That was about six months ago. P. was S.'s father-in-law. They had been hiding from each other for over forty years. Six months ago they gave each other cigarettes in this way. After that you could see them sitting together talking, just like any other two men. The same thing happened between M. and K.

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Personality conflicts in the avoidance relationship.—In spite of the absolute standards of good will which are supposed to govern the relations between a married man and his affinities, conflicts in interests and in personalities do occur. The wife is in continuous touch with her relatives, and any indignity she suffers at the hands of her husband is immediately known to them. The husband is in an anomalous position until his standing among his wife's kin is assured, for, although he is nominally considered the head of his household, he is subject to the strict scrutiny of his wife's relatives.

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Irritations and resentments between affinal relatives sometimes erupt into open hostility:

R. was .... always abusing his wife. It led to a fight between him and the woman's stepfather. The stepfather was just like a bulldog. In the fight he bit R.'s finger off. He must have swallowed it, for they never found it. It was a jubilee fight, right on a moonlit night!

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The older participant, the wife's stepfather, had never avoided his opponent. Therefore, the encounter did not involve a violation of the avoidance obligation. But in the heat of anger even that extreme breach of etiquette has been known to take place:

A man has just beaten up his mother-in-law. This man has avoided his mother-in-law and her sister. He has had trouble with his wife and has been separated from her. Now he has tried to get his wife to go on with him again. He went over to her place. Her mother was so angry at him that she came right over to the place where he was. They threw everything to the wind and began fighting. He beat her up. They won't even use polite form any more. They insulted each other and got kicked, so what's the use of polite form now? But this does not mean that the man will not continue to avoid his mother-in-law's sister. It depends on the individuals concerned.

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Of another mother-in-law–son-in-law breach this account was given:

One man had serious trouble with his wife and her family. His mother-in-law helped his wife throw stones at him and drive him out of camp. She saw him that

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time! But now they are hiding from each other again. This happened about six months ago.

The last part of the quotation reveals the usual aftermath of such violent incidents. Ordinarily the principals are very contrite and are glad to have the episode forgotten.

Quarrels between son-in-law and father-in-law are likewise not unknown:

We were staying at the old man's place [the father-in-law's place]. They came after me. They had been drinking tiswin and were drunk. I heard them say, "We'll beat him up." They went out to the woodpile to get clubs to beat me with.

"I don't like this," I said to my wife. "I don't want to live here."

She said, "I can't help it. I'm afraid of my father. He's pretty bad."

I said, "The best man's going to get away from here!"

These three who were coming for me were all relatives of my wife; they all used polite form to me too. But they were sticking up for the old man. I got my ax. I was angry. They came for me. I came out of my home. I had the ax behind me. They advanced.

I said to the first one, "What do you want?"

"You are not the only man!" he told me.

I said, "You come any nearer and someone is bound to get hurt!" and I began swinging my ax. One of them is a coward. He backed out when he saw the ax. Another began asking, "What's he done?"

I told him, "Don't make believe! You've got a club in your hand, and you know what you've got it for."

Just then one of my relatives came. "What's the matter?" he asked. I told him. "If they're going to club you, they've got to club me too," he said. Then they backed down.

Once an informant asserted darkly that his mother-in-law was "no good." The only explanation of this unusual statement he would vouchsafe at the time was, "She comes around here and cusses me out." Little by little the details of the clash emerged. His later statement was this:

I was sitting in the agent's office and she came right up to me. "After this we will not avoid each other," she said. I guess she was angry at me about something. She feels pretty bad about it now, but I am not going to avoid her any more. She can hide from me if she wants to, but I am going on just as I am now.

But the actual cause of the quarrel had to be obtained from other sources and turned out to involve property of the woman which had been improperly disposed of by the son-in-law.

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602 father-in-law can be referred to by the son-in-law as "one for
195 whom I carry burdens" and also as "he who is old."
[193] The question of whether polite form is to be required and the mode of notification are the business of the woman's relatives.

As soon as the relatives of the girl heard about it, those who intended to do so started to use the polite form the next time they saw me. They told me that I should use the polite form to them, and in that very sentence they used it themselves. So they really used it first.

Polite form begins immediately after marriage. Sometimes the individual tells you to use the polite form; sometimes he or she just uses it to you, and you must use it in return.

Perfect decorum must be maintained when two "who are ashamed in words" are together:

You can't pass water, defecate, or use smutty language when anyone to whom you use polite form is around. If one of them is in an embarrassing or ridiculous position, you cannot laugh at him but must leave the place immediately. You have to be careful of your language, too, when someone like this is around.

[551] Ordinarily, names may be used in speaking of absent persons, but a stricter usage is observed by a polite-form affinity:

You don't call the name of a man to whom you use polite form. If you do have to mention his name, you have to add something, as "the one who is known as C." or "the one who is called C." Others can use his name before you though. Usually in referring to him you just say "the one who is an affinity to me."

602 It is evident that these observances are related to that same
195 economic solidarity which exists between avoidance relatives:
596 I feel that if I needed some service or property I could ask it of someone to whom I used the polite form. I'd be sure of getting it. If I were having a girl go
[476] through the puberty ceremony, I might ask these people for help, and a man helps his wife's relatives meet the expense of a ceremony which his wife's relatives are putting on. You can take property privileges with anyone to whom you use
[426] the polite form. You can borrow property from them freely, for you know they will never say anything to you that is disrespectful. You have more rights in this respect than you would with your own family.

602 But in spite of convention, polite form, like avoidance, often
195 masks repressed dislikes:
578 Some people, when they get drunk, will fight their own fathers. And they
[203] don't care if someone they have to be polite to tries to handle them. Even though they are supposed to be ashamed before a person, that isn't going to hold them down when they're drunk. Sometimes they don't like a person they are ashamed before in words, and then, when they are drunk, it comes out.

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753 825 On the banks of Medicine Creek at Fort Sill I went fishing. I left my cap on a bank. I went back to the village. The next day I went to look for my cap. I found it and wiped off the sweat from my face with the cap.

753 755 825 The next day my face was swollen. My relatives did not know what was wrong. They consulted an old shaman, a woman. She could trace everything from her singing. She said prayers and sang four songs over me. No one knew what was wrong. While she sang, she saw a cap on a bank. It was mine. While she was looking at it, she saw something moving and coiling around inside the cap. My relatives asked me about my cap. I told them what had happened. Then the old lady knew what had happened. A water moccasin had got into my cap.

753 825 [761] There are many ways of contracting the disease:

A person gets sick by being bitten. . . . . The sloughed skin of the snake will also cause the sickness. If I pick up the skin where I am weeding, it causes death too. A person can get sick from being scared by a rattlesnake. . . . . A person gets sick from smelling the snake. If a person lies where a snake has been, he gets sick from that.

Mention of the snake is usually avoided except in invective:

• [578] "The snake is used in quarreling. Sometimes people say, 'I wish a snake would bite you!' " But this, too, has its dangers:

If a man says in anger, "I hope a snake bites you," he will get sick from snakes. He has a bad mouth. Before this the snakes have not bothered him, but he's got a bad mouth, and it's bound to make him sick.

The fate of an impious man who defied the precepts for commercial gain is told today:

Every spring white spots used to come around that man's mouth. It happened right up to the time of his death. This is because he did things against the Chiricahua's way. He went around and fooled with rattlesnakes. Many people living here have seen what would happen to his mouth every spring.

He used to catch rattlesnakes and skin them and sell the skins. He was a strong man, and he used to grab them in the back of the neck and strangle them to death. Then he'd skin that snake. He'd take out his knife and cut it open. He'd put one end of the skin in his mouth, with the blood and fat all over him and streaming down his face, and he'd pull at it to separate the skin from the rest. He used to call to other people, "Come here! Get hold of this!" But no one would go near him. After that he got sick from it and got these white spots every spring. The Chiricahua doesn't want to have anything to do with snakes. I know I don't even want to look at a rattlesnake.

825 231 Even animals are susceptible to the malignant influence of snakes:

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775 the living are not severed. Therefore, it is dangerous to keep the dead in mind through excessive grief. "Calling the name of a [152] dead person any time is dangerous, but it is especially so after [551] dark." It is an insult to speak the name of the deceased before [578] his kin.

It is obvious that relatives and close friends of the deceased, particularly the former, are most likely to suffer from ghost experiences: "If one is a friend or relative of a dead person or in any way associated with him, there is a fear of his ghost."

[153] Precautions during and after the death rites will not totally eliminate ghost sickness. We remember the man who thought 775 that he was being persecuted for singing a deceased tribesman's 578 ceremonial song and the man who, in a dream, defied the ghost which sought his death, telling it that he would not die because he knew no false ceremony. It takes no great insight to infer that these two men had clashed over the validity of each other's claims of supernatural power. In other words, the fear of the return of the ghost is not unrelated to rivalries of everyday life. The more free from friction relations have been with an individual, the less likely is dread of his ghost to materialize.[14] This was definitely in the mind of the informant who said: "I don't think my father's ghost would come back to bother me. No, my father was a sensible man. He wouldn't do a thing like that. Only those who were trouble-makers in life would bother you that way."

775 The ghosts of enemy peoples, particularly Americans and 648 Mexicans, can cause an illness much like that produced by 753 Chiricahua ghosts but differing from it in some particulars.

When you just go out of your head and want to bite your tongue, and you get scared and numb all over the back and chest, that's sickness from the white man's ghost.

. . . . A white man's [American's] ghost can make you sick. You can always see the ghost that makes you sick [in white man's ghost sickness]. To see an In-

[14] For a socio-psychological interpretation of these fears of the ghosts of relatives and also of the power of living kin see Opler, "An Interpretation of Ambivalence of Two American Indian Tribes," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. VII (1936), and "Further Comparative Anthropological Data Bearing on the Solution of a Psychological Problem," *ibid.*, Vol. IX (1938).

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754 "These people hate their own children; they hate their close relatives."

[578] But in most instances of alleged sorcery, the motive of the witch is narrowed down to some quarrel or thwarted design:

One man suspects M. of being a witch. His wife used to be good friends with her. She used to be over at M.'s all the time. Then she died, just after those two women had a falling-out of some sort. That's the way they work. You have hot words with a person. Then you die from some little accident. The person is under suspicion after that.

The greed of the sorcerer and the danger of denying him his desires is a recurring theme:

If you suspect you are witched, you must think over everybody that you have refused anything to or to whom you have not freely given something he admired. Perhaps someone said to you, "What a nice Navaho rug!" But you didn't give it to him. He witched you. That's why Indians don't plan to live nicely and have [511] good things around. They'd only be running into danger from witches.

[584] Rejected marriage suits may stir the malice of witches. "A young woman might die. They would say that a man who had been refused by her before her marriage had done this to her because he couldn't have her himself."

There is no personal misfortune, no public disaster, that may not ultimately be construed as the work of a witch. Impotence [833] is sometimes attributed to sorcery, and witches are accused of interfering with domestic tranquillity:

When I married, I lived near my wife's parents. A year later my wife had a baby and it died. About two months later she began to act as if she wasn't the same person at all. She was mean, and there was trouble all the time. I came away and lived down here, but my mother-in-law liked me and knew that I was trying to do the right thing. My wife had been witched. They took her to a [955] shaman, and he saw what the matter was and cured her. About a month after she was cured I went back to her. She was just like her old self again.

[845] Of difficult childbirth, it was said: "When a woman is having a hard time in labor, if her husband finds out for sure that a witch is responsible, he will go out and kill him."

75 At the other end of the scale is widespread sickness:
535 There has been much sickness around here, a lot of pneumonia. So last week my father painted masked dancers to find out what it was from and how it was

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754 one way of finding them out. . . . . They say that a man is sure-
[291] ly a witch if he is rich and yet doesn't wear clean clothes."

[147] Though one informant asserted that "witches have a peculiar odor, something like the odor of spoiled meat; if you smell it, it may have a bad influence on you," others rejected this idea.

[262] Sensitivity to elk meat provides a test: "If you are a witch and eat elk, you throw up. Elk meat stays down in a good man."

It is not unusual for a trap to be laid for the sorcerer:

[273] There was a fellow who was considered a witch. You know that tiswin or beer that the Indians make out of corn. One shaman had a root which, if given to a witch in this tiswin or in coffee, would kill him. It wouldn't do harm to any other person. A man told me about this incident who was present when it happened. It was thought that the man to whom this was done was a witch, because shamans had often pointed to him as the man who caused sickness. So this shaman told several people privately that he was going to give the root to the witch in tiswin this time. He told the other people to go ahead and drink the tiswin, for it wouldn't harm them. When the witch came over, some of this root was put in his tiswin. The witch went home and soon had stomach trouble. He died in a few days. Other people drank the same tiswin and were all right.

754 The victim's guardian spirit may furnish information about
787 the attacks of the witch:

My children and my wife all died over at the hospital. They died because the doctor can't help them in matters of witchcraft. I could tell by my dream that my wife was witched. In my dream I heard a voice that told me. Sometimes the witch appeared to me in my dream. But I could not stop it. I know who the witches who killed my wife and children were. They are dead now. In my dream I saw that some witches just talk, just go through a ceremony of words, and influence the people that way. Since that time I have not cared much about dreams; I did not care to be notified any more.

775 Very often none of the devices enumerated serves to ferret out
• 578 the evildoer. "A man might be living with a witch and not know it; it might be his wife." The witch who so skilfully masks his identity is exposed only when a ceremony over a sick person is held by a shaman powerful enough to learn the true cause. Accordingly, the most spectacular curing rites are those which constitute a battle, not against natural indispositions nor yet against the evil influence of dangerous animals and forces, but against the sorcerer.

The word "battle" is chosen advisedly. The entire contest be-

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tween the shaman and the witch is phrased in terms of warfare. The sorcerer is said to "shoot" his victim with "arrows" (the witchcraft objects). Consequently, to intercept these arrows is literally to disarm the witch, and this is what the shaman tries to do. Then, with his good power, he attempts to shoot the arrows back into the witch. But if the shaman is not "strong" enough to accomplish this, he himself may fall ill, because the very witchcraft objects which he has extracted from his patient are now "sticking in him." Thus, the machinery of witchcraft, once put into motion, does not halt until some victim has been claimed—the object of the witch's ire, the witch, or the shaman. "The witch can take off the witching he has put on you, but he has 'given' your life when he put on the witching, and to take it off he must offer some other life in its place."

Only a self-confident ceremonialist will press a cure when he has ascertained that the primary cause is witchcraft:

> A shaman has a good power and can make a sick person well, but if the person for whom he is singing is very sick and the sickness is caused by a witch, the shaman is very much afraid of that witch. Sometimes he can't get the sick person well, because the witch might be more powerful than he is. Or he might cure the sick person and then, if the sick person was witched, the shaman might die instead.

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Nearly everyone is alarmed lest such evil influence sometime be directed against him. But no member of the tribe acknowledges mastery of sorcery or will say that he has ever employed a sorcerer. If rites purposely conducted to gain evil ends exist, they are conducted in secret. Some confessions from witches have been obtained, according to informants, but always as a result of duress and torture. Boasts of witchcraft accomplished and open threats occasionally occur, but without exception under the influence of drink. Of one man it was said, "Every time he got drunk he would tell someone, 'I'm a witch and I'm going to kill you.' So one time they killed him." These drunken threats do raise the possibility that there are individuals who believe that their imprecations actually harm those against whom they bear ill will.

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One characteristic often attributed to the sorcerer is sexual

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your closest relative is a witch, he is grabbed by a crowd and burned. If the relatives object, they go right into the fire too.[16]

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Fire and its derivative, ashes, are prophylactics against witches and ghosts. Objects of sorcery extracted from the body of the patient by the shaman are always consigned to the flames, where they explode noisily, giving assurance of the destruction of the witchcraft principle.[17] The same thing happens when the sorcerer's body is burned: "When he burns, there is a 'pop,' like a shot from a gun. It is the 'witchcraft' in him popping. At every burning I have seen there has been a 'pop.'"

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That false charges of witchcraft can arise from motives of personal dislike is acknowledged. Sometimes those who doubt the validity of the accusation are silenced at the time, however, by the enormity of the imputations, the strident assurance and political influence of the inciters, and the prospect of defending an unpopular cause.

Some that they burned were witches, but it was not proved that they all were. H. was a war leader. He burned up several men and several women because he suspected they were witches. It's like this: Someone might come alone to him and say, "There's a man over there who is a witch." Just because one person had told him this, he would send men over there, take that man, bring some wood, and burn him alive. Often they tied witches to a branch of a tree by the wrists with the feet off the ground, swinging.

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Punishment is in no way mitigated when the condemned witch happens to be a woman:

At a place in the Chiricahua Mountains, when I was a boy, I saw a witch woman burned. The people had gone to a shaman and had hired him to find out who was doing all the witching, for many deaths from witchcraft had occurred. The shaman had sung all night and had finally found out who the witches were. He told the people the witches were a certain husband and wife. He advised them to get rid of these two.

The couple had a young baby in the cradle at the time. While the shaman was

[16] Another reason why relatives shrink from aiding a witch will be developed later (see pp. 254–57).

[17] Only those things that are considered evil and dangerous are destroyed by fire. When I asked an informant his opinion of cremation, he said with feeling, "It would be sure to show hatred of a dead man. He is already dead. What's the use of burning him up?"

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755 262 [784] I went to visit C. I stood in front of him. He said, "Don't stand over me. Someone performed a ceremony for me and said that no one was to stand over me."

I never eat tongue myself. I had a ceremony performed over me when I was young, and at the end of it I was warned not to eat meat from the head of any animal.

A food taboo which becomes too irksome can be ceremonially lifted, however:

[788] The shaman tells you sometimes not to eat tongue or liver. If you don't want to keep away from this, after four days you cook liver or whatever it was he told you not to eat. Then he comes and marks it with pollen, puts it toward your mouth three times, and the fourth time you eat it. Then it is all right. This removal of the restriction is called "one can eat it again."

755 751 [431] At the conclusion of the ceremony the shaman may present the patient with a curative or protective amulet to hasten recovery and to prevent a relapse. This may be one of the four ceremonial gifts required by the terms of the rite, but more often it is something especial made by the shaman.[19]

[777] [756] Often the shaman gives the woman patient a piece of decorated buckskin to wear on her hair. A turquoise bead might be given a man and a piece of abalone shell to a woman. Sometimes a buckskin jacket or cap is made for the patient by the shaman. Sometimes it is a feather, sometimes a cross. The patient is directed to wear this after the ceremony so the disease will not come back any more. Bags of paint or pollen are sometimes worn for good luck after a ceremony. Different shamans give different things to wear.

756 [431] [778] [782] Before the shaman departs on the fourth night, payment is made to him. Usually an understanding has been reached in advance. Sometimes the gifts are in view during the entire last evening, for supernatural power is well pleased when its ceremony is generously rewarded. More than the agreed amount may be placed before the shaman. Then, because the ceremonialist is grateful to the patient, he is expected to continue to pray for him and ritually protect him. In fact, some resentment may be felt [578] when a shaman does not maintain interest in a case:

[19] In 1909, on the field expedition already mentioned, M. R. Harrington collected a large number of these amulets from the Chiricahua Apache. These objects are now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City.

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That shaman knows my wife is worse. He knows she got sick just before his boy died. We moved over there and had our camp near his. He didn't do anything. I've done a lot for that man. I gave him a steer when his daughter had her puberty rite. I've taken him other food. He thinks I should keep right on doing things for him.

Often the service that a shaman has rendered his client is the basis for closer friendly relations. Although the process is informal, this bond is an important one for many individuals. "There is no set rule that a cured patient is under obligation to a shaman, but sometimes a person himself feels that way."

Where a ceremony ends in failure, the shaman does not suffer irreparable injury to his reputation unless he has expressed himself too confidently concerning a favorable outcome. The result may be attributed to the fact that the shaman was not called in time or to the strength of an opposing witch. The ultimate effects of the rite are not always at once obvious, though it is hoped that the ceremony will pave the way for steady recovery. Should that recovery lag, it may be accounted for by the patient's carelessness in the wearing of the protective amulet, or by his failure to observe strictly the taboos. That a shaman may succeed in one case and not in another is conceded. To "try" the ceremonies of a number of practitioners before relief from some tenacious ailment is obtained has been the experience of a large percentage of adults at some time in their lives.

CEREMONIALISM IN ACTION; OBTAINING AND USING POWER

Mountain People.—The functions of the Mountain People and of their most important representatives, the Mountain Spirits, are well illustrated in the myths. One tale describes the curing of two children, one legless and one blind. Abandoned, these two try vainly to follow their people. The blind boy carries the cripple and is guided by his directions. Then the Mountain People appear and conduct the boys to their "home."

Many people lived in that mountain. They dressed all kinds of Mountain Spirits for these boys. They prayed and began to sing. There were women in the mountain too. The women made the sound, the cry of applause, as they do at the big tepee during the girl's puberty rite now.

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837 cited over such an affair, "sometimes his friends will try to in-
[156] flame him." Thus the social pressure upon the husband for stern
[626] action is often almost equal to the efforts of the leaders to settle the matter peaceably.

684 The woman, since she is close at hand, is likely to be the first to feel the husband's wrath. A beating is the least punishment she suffers. If there is no one to intercede for her, her very life may be forfeit, or she may be subjected to mutilation:

A man never whips his wife without reason. If he finds out that she is unfaithful, he whips her, cuts her nose, or else kills her. He would have to have evidence of unfaithfulness and not hearsay, however. Treatment like this does not come
[593] for little things. For not obeying him, or for not working, a man would merely scold his wife, and he would do so in private. If the woman has committed adultery, the people think that what happens to her is her own fault and don't say anything about the punishment she gets.

The reason they cut the nose of a woman is to make her look ugly. She is marked so that no one will meddle with her. One woman who is still living has her nose cut like this. Her husband cut her nose out of jealousy and left her because she went with another man.

The husband is just as insistent that the man who has disrupted his home be punished:

After the husband has punished or killed his wife, he will go after the man and kill him. But the other, if he is wise, will run away and not return for years until it has blown over. I cannot remember a case where the man who is to blame
[627] has killed the husband instead. If that happened, close relatives of the husband
[602] would kill him.

837 Nothing leads more quickly to trouble between men than sus-
578 picion or charges of wife seduction:

This morning I went up to a place where a group of men were standing. I was right beside B. Pretty soon L. came. You could see he was angry. He placed himself right in front of B. and said, "Somebody was crawling around my camp last night and bothering my wife, and I just want to say that if I catch anyone around there again, I'm going to kill him." You could see he was talking to B. B. just hung his head. Then L. talked to B. directly and said, "If you ever come around my camp again, I'm going to kill you."

I saw there might be trouble, so I stepped between them. "Now don't get mad," I told L. "Don't get yourself into trouble."

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586 of the wife and her relatives. Wealth may even decide the issue;
[556] where the relatives of the wife are poor and the man and his kin have greater resources, the husband may take a child with him at the dissolution of the marriage.

[589] The divorced man returns to his parental home or stays with
[587] some close relative. Unless he is well along in years, he soon marries again.

589 The chief loser in a divorce action is the woman. For at least
587 part of her sustenance she is now once more dependent on her
[602] own relatives, who, too, have lost economic assistance. Because she is now an experienced woman with a record of marital difficulties, it is unlikely that a new husband will offer presents to her parents. Should she fail to be married again soon, her reputation
[578] suffers. The word meaning "single woman who has been married before" (divorcée, widow) has an unsavory connotation. "This word would only be used to a single woman who was married before, and never to one who is single in the sense that she has
[558] not married at all yet. The word is more or less of an insult, and a person would not use it to a woman whom he respects."

589 Because unmarried girls are carefully guarded, the promiscuous women are usually divorcées and widows who have failed to remarry. From them the community and their kin do not exact the same high standards of conduct demanded of the unmarried
[504] girls: "At a drinking party there might be a young divorced
[848] woman, but it is very unlikely that any unmarried girl would attend. Young men attend though." Divorced women are thought more likely to have illegitimate children than the unmarried: "After a first marriage a woman might have children out of wedlock, but that kind of woman is not liked."

587 Marriage can be more easily contracted with a divorced
583 woman than with a maiden. The waiving of marriage gifts has already been noted. Less pressure upon relatives and less per-
[584] suasiveness are required in arranging such a match. The celebration of a military victory or the social dance of a puberty rite may even be the occasion for a very informal union with a divorced woman:

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The only other times a man will call the name of another to his face are when he is drunk or angry; a man in his right senses won't do it. But if a person is angry with another, he drops all reserve and calls the other's name freely, telling him what he thinks of him. You have to be careful about this, for it means a fight. 551 576 578

It is considered very impolite to call a man's name to his face. You might call his name when he is not present, but we think it impolite to call the name of a person who is with you. Not long ago I was by the roadside with a young fellow. An old man was riding past. This young fellow forgot himself and called the rider by name. The old man paid no attention and rode on. The young fellow felt pretty much ashamed.

An occasion when the name was purposely used to start a quarrel was described:

This boy came toward me, calling to me and using my name. "You think you're smart!" he told me. He used my name a lot. He did it with emphasis. Then we started to fight.

Very early the next morning, before I was out of bed, he came over. He had come to tell me that he was sorry for what he had done. He used my name this time too. This was a special occasion; that's why.

The proper use of the name is a potent factor in obtaining a favorable response to a request: 551 574 576 757

One time my wife and I wanted some medicine to keep. We were collecting lots of roots. We had a sack of them. We didn't know how the leaves of one particular plant looked, so we couldn't collect any. My wife heard that an old lady had this kind we wanted, and she asked me to go and get some.

I didn't want to do it, for I knew this plant was valuable to the old lady. She was a ceremonial woman and used some in her ceremony. But my wife kept bothering me until I went to the old lady's home. First I visited with her for a few minutes. You have to act just so to the old people. When I got there, she began to talk about things, about the weather. When you call on a person you haven't visited before, you are treated extra fine, for that person knows you want some favor.

I didn't want to ask her for it. I guess she thought I needed help. People come to her because of sickness. Finally, she asked me what I wanted. I started to say I didn't come for anything special, and then I had to say it; so I called her by name and said, "So-and-so, I am gathering some plants, just out of curiosity. I have some of my own, but I hear you have a plant used in a certain sickness. If you care to, I wish you would give me a sample of it."

I used the language that brings results. She gave me a handful of it. This medicine is for tuberculosis. It is called "narrow medicine" (*Perezia wrightii*). [137]

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524 Sometimes the one who is hiding the bone does not put it in a moccasin but under his arm. When he does this, it doesn't count against the other side if they fail to guess where it is. The hider is doing this just so his luck will come back to him. He does it when the other side has been getting the bone too easily. But if someone on the other side thinks you have got it hidden on you, instead of striking, the one who is guessing for the other side says, "You have it." Then you have to hand it over to him if he's right; your side loses the bone.

Another manner of play is to penalize upon discovery the one who conceals the bone in this way. "If a player, instead of hiding the bone in a moccasin, conceals it on his person, he will, if discovered, lose ten points for every move made by the opposing side before the discovery of the trick."

The moccasin game has given rise to several less elaborate forms of play of the same general character and bearing the same name:

When a few get together, we sometimes play with four heaps of sand and a marble. We follow the same way of counting as in the moccasin game, and we call this a moccasin game, too.

Then there is one game where a marble is hidden in one hand or the other, and the other fellow has to guess where it is. We don't keep moving our hands around when we are playing this. We just hide it and let the other side guess.

They also play a game in which a small stick is hidden behind one of the four fingers of the hand. All these are called moccasin games.

INVECTIVE

191 195 578 793 A curse is a grave affront because of the acknowledged potency of verbalism. The general respect for the efficacy of words has its roots in traditions of the early period of mankind's existence:

"At this time, anything that they said occurred in exactly that way. Anything of which one said: 'It is to happen so,' happened in just that way. For that reason one did not say just anything to someone. If one spoke in that way to someone one hated, it happened in exactly that way. . . . . They spoke only in a very good way."[11]

After the flood there were many, many Indians [Chiricahua]. These Indians were very religious. They were careful how they used their language. They wouldn't ever dare to say, "I wish that dog would bite you," or, "I wish that coyote would get you." They wouldn't ever dare say things like that. They were afraid to tell lies.

[11] Hoijer, *Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts*, p. 18.

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This fear of the expression of evil wishes is an aspect of the belief that what is fervently voiced, for good or for evil, is likely to occur. It is a conception which gives point alike to the faith in the "good words" of ceremonialism and to the dread of "witch talk." 191 195 578

Invective is graduated from those exclamations and phrases which arouse mild resentment to those which are considered unforgivable insults. Rather innocuous, and directed as often at a situation as at a person, is an inexplicable cry of frustration, "Knife and awl!" "You're no good!" is likely to bring a more positive reaction if it is directed at a person. It is a stinging rebuke and challenge to be told, "You're no man!" Quite as insulting is it to tell a person, "You are trashy!" or, "Even though you are trashy, you ought to try to restrain yourself." Serious imprecations which rankle and are keenly resented have to do with death wishes and the underworld. "May an enemy [white man] kill you!" is one of these. The most common of this type is the malediction, "Go to the underworld!" "When some people get angry, they say, 'Go to the underworld!' It's just like telling a person to go to hell. That kind of talk is very bad and strong. People get killed for saying such a thing. You are considered to have a witch mouth if you talk like this." 195 578

Other curses have sexual or scatological implications: "A bad word is one that means 'your excrement!' If you use it to anyone, it will surely make him furious, and he might kill you for it." An incitant to physical violence is the threat, "I'll squeeze you so hard that I'll make your excrement move out!" An abusive phrase which was described as "the dirtiest cuss word in the Chiricahua language" inelegantly labels one's parents witches: "You for whom the witches copulated!" 195 578 831

But, in the eyes of many, the gravest insult is a combined curse and gesture, the ultimate in indignant response of a very angry woman: 195 578 831

> If a woman gets very angry at anyone, she will double up her right fist with the palm up, put her thumb between the first and second fingers, and then open the fingers suddenly in the direction of another person, saying at the same time, "Smell this!" A man dreads this! It's just like shooting a man. It shows contempt. The word refers to her vagina. 201

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195 But men, too, use this gesture and the same expression upon
578 occasion, and it is still more vitriolic if one man levels it at
201 another:

At Fort Sill in 1910 one man was swearing at another in every way. The other man said nothing that night. The next morning he came up to the one who had cursed him. He was making the woman's gesture of contempt. He said, "You spoke bravely last night. Now let's see what you can do."

They fought. The one who had started the trouble the night before went down. The one on top took dirt and sticks and grass and hit him on the mouth with them saying, "Now you won't use such bad language perhaps!"

When a person is goaded to action by insult or abuse, there is an exclamation that warns of the attack to come:

There is an expression of rage, "*ahagahel*" It means that a man has stood for as much as he is going to. When you hear that, you know that the man is going for his weapon and will fight it out. The word has no literal meaning.

195 In keeping with their assertions concerning the greater peev-
578 ishness of women in comparison to men, a number of male in-
562 formants have insisted that women are quicker to make use of these inflamatory phrases:

As a general rule in the old days, Chiricahua men didn't curse. The women did most of the cursing. There were very few bad words. Then if you said, "You
[179] coyote!" or "Your excrement!" that was very, very bad. Cursing was brought in by the white people. Now the woman doesn't talk that way, and the man does. A big change, isn't it!

ANTISOCIAL CONDUCT

577 In the eyes of his fellows the moral person is one who heeds the
771 social conventions and discharges his obligations in obedience to
183 the tribal ethic.

[155] Ceremonies for curing are religious. But these have nothing to do with morals. You can have a ceremony performed over you and drink and do what you please.

The Chiricahua religion is directed toward long life, good health, and things like that. In the Chiricahua way, I can't see how religion has anything to do with living right, as long as a person is not a witch and is not trying to use his ceremony for meanness. Religion might be a good thing all right, but I know from experience with my people that it didn't take that to make a person good.

Good conduct is the result of obeying the customs, and it is up to the person. It has nothing to do with religion. A man would come to a bad end in the old days because he violated the customs. It's just a matter of a man looking out for his own welfare. If you obey all the rules, you get along all right in Chiricahua

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of the murderer, who either leaves the region as soon as he realizes the consequence of his act or is advised by his relatives to stay away until bitterness against him has abated or compensation has been arranged. His family may be implicated in his escape to the extent of furnishing him supplies and keeping his destination secret. Sometimes it is impossible to conciliate the aggrieved family, and the exile is forced to remain away—to join some other band or even some other tribe.

But usually, as soon as he is safe, a strong movement for a peaceful settlement is launched. It is the duty of the group leader to lend his moral weight toward this solution. He tries to bring representatives of the two families together at a council where generosity is likely to be acclaimed. If the plan succeeds, an old and respected member of one of the families steps forward finally and says something like this: "Let us not have trouble. We eat the same food, walk upon the same earth, breathe the same air, and the same sun is over us. There is no reason why we should have trouble between us. Let there be peace." This truce is then solidified by the passage of valuable gifts to the family of the slain person. Now a spokesman for the murderer is free to voice his plea: "We all know our friend, and we are sorry for what has happened. What has happened cannot be helped though, and now our friend has given valuable presents, and we wish to take him back into our people. Let us go on living together and forget what has happened."

Yet the animosity often continues to smolder latently. A polite but unmistakable antagonism between two men, for instance, was explained in this way:

> He has it in for L. It was his uncle that L. killed in Alabama. They got drunk, and somehow L. hit the other man on the head with a bottle. This case was supposed to be patched up, but it has never been forgotten. That's the way it is in lots of these cases. They can't get out of their minds what was done to their relative, and they look for some other excuse to start trouble.

In all probability the greatest deterrent to antisocial conduct is not the specific penalty for the offense but the concern over social disapproval. The influence of this factor is diffuse and difficult to trace in detail, but children and adults alike are exhorted to remember what others will say and think of their behavior.

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To appreciate the mechanics of the elevation of a man to the office of leader, the conception of status must be understood. Distinctions of status dependent upon birth are recognized, although they are not rigidly maintained and are not uninfluenced by considerations of wealth and ability.[2]

[556] [555]

When we say "people who are worthless," we are thinking of those who are not refined, who are of low birth. It is as if you said, "That person's line is no good." It always carries the idea of low birth. When a man gets angry at someone, he tells him that he belongs to this class; he uses it as an insult. But, no matter of what family a man comes, he isn't called this unless he is shiftless, lazy, and unreliable. Some are like that. Of some we say, "Their excrement juts out [because they are too lazy to wipe it away]."

[578]

Of another person we might say, "He is from his [good] people." This is used in the sense of descent from the families of leaders and the wealthy. Those of whom this is said are more respected. It is pretty clear cut, and there is not much doubt whether a person belongs to this class or not.

Another informant speaks of the same extremes of status designation but calls attention to the middle position which most individuals hold:

Those who have sprung from families of wealth and influence are said to be "the people of good birth." It is easy to recognize them. A ceremonial man's children would not necessarily come under this classification, for a ceremonial man could be very poor. The word "worthless" is applied to people who are just loose, ignorant, or of a very poor family. Most people are in between; they are respectable people and contribute to everything in a good way. But still they are not the descendants of leaders. There is no name for them.

The right to respect has to be validated by achievement and effort:

The word meaning "he is from his [good] people" is used of the descendants of the politically influential and wealthy. Still, of a man who comes of good blood but is worthless and a waster, they say, "He comes of good blood, all right; but he is worthless." The term is not applied to such a person. It is said only of descendants of influential or wealthy men who are themselves so. There isn't much question about it or any need for dispute. Whether you like a person or not, you have to recognize his importance and position. If my grandfather or uncle was a leader, I would come under this term. People would expect me to live up to it. The term includes strong people, people strong in social position or in war. But it has to be generally accepted. People have to have respect for you.

[2] Such distinctions have already been touched upon in connection with the rearing and training of children (see pp. 28–29).

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554 A personal enemy might class you the other way, but you would be prominent enough so that his motive would be apparent.

554 571 578 The conception of status conditions the amount of deference an individual expects and the degree to which it is thought seemly for him to take part in public affairs:

I nearly had some trouble with B. Some of her sheep had got mixed in with L.'s and mine, and there was some question about range. She got angry right away and came over and began to talk about the fact that she comes from good blood. She was referring to her relationship to Mangus, a leader of the old times. She did this to remind L., who is related to a leader's son, that she is as good as he is.

Another man described an occasion when his father publicly rebuked him for voicing opposition to a leader, the son of a man of rank:

My father scolded me right there. He said, "You are not a leading man here, and yet you try to find out all these things. You should not put yourself in."

I got up again to answer him. I told them all, "I am not a leading man. I don't pretend to be. But I am here and I don't want to be misled. I defend my family."

622 554 It is from the group of well-born and politically conscious individuals that the leaders are drawn. But family origin, while it does confer status unless there is some grave personal disability, does not determine political rank:

If the son of a leader is qualified, it is easier for him to become a leader. But it doesn't have to work that way. It's queer; I don't know just how to explain it. But those who become leaders are smarter. They are willing to come out and say what they think. I notice it here. Some people get the idea that it is handed down from father to son or from one relative to another. This is not so. Ability in war and wisdom make the leader. It's easier to get to the front if you are a good fighter. Yet some people, though they were good fighters, never became leaders. So I think it is a matter of smartness more than anything else. The leader is not chosen; he is just recognized. A leader might have a son who is not much good. That boy would not be recognized as a leader then.

The leader has no absolute control. What the white man calls a chief is really only a natural leader. Because of his skill and ability, men look up to him. If his son is as good as he is, that boy is recognized as a leading man in time. Otherwise he is not looked on as a leader. S. has more influence than N. or G., though the fathers of both of these men were leaders. Even I have more influence than these men. That's the way it looks to me in regard to this leader matter. I think a man becomes a leader because he is a little smarter.

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Because the name is so intimate a facet of the personality, one of the most rigid injunctions forbids the mention of the name of the recently deceased. If the dead person must be mentioned, a qualifying phrase provides a safeguard:

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[152] There should be no mention of a dead person. To mention the name of the dead reminds relatives of him and makes them feel bad; it only causes sorrow. Besides it might prove dangerous. To call the name of a dead person at any time is bad, and especially after dark.

[195] We are instructed, in case it is necessary to use the name of the dead, to put a word after the name which means "who used to be called." Another way is to say "the one who used to be a relative of So-and-So." The avoidance of the name is not observed only before the relatives of the dead person. It is a general observance.

When an elder of the family, who has been in close contact with the children, dies, their names are changed:

The children of the family get different names then. The person who has died has called the children by this name that is being dropped; that is why they don't want it used any more. The older people don't have their names changed because of this, however.

If the relative who suggested one's name dies, that name is sure to be changed: "'Little' was my first name. Later a name was given to me by my grandmother. When she died, it was changed."

When a person who is named after something of common reference dies, the people are reluctant to use the term for a long time after the death. "They are especially careful around the relatives." Circumlocutions and synonyms are employed until the danger period is past. Even the use of relationship terms is restricted because their utterance might stimulate painful memories or ghost anxieties:

[195] [601] [152]

If you have two relatives that you call by the same relationship term and one of them dies, you don't call the other by this term for a while. You call him by his name until the dead person is forgotten. Then you can use the relationship term to him again.

Those outside the relationship group in which a death has occurred must exercise the greatest care not to arouse the resentment of the bereaved:

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What the relatives do not like if a person dies is to see in the next few days anyone wearing a red dress, a red shirt, a red headband, or red clothes of any kind. It hurts the feelings of those who have lost their relative to see this. If a

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death occurs near by, others take off their red clothes at once. It is because red is colorful and stands for a good time. If your relative dies and you see someone wearing red, you say, "Well, that fellow wore red when I was sad. When his relative dies, I'm going to wear red just for meanness." Fights and bad feelings can start from this; enemies can be made in this way.

And yet, in spite of all the determined efforts to obliterate the memory of the dead, a prolonged period of formal mourning is sanctioned:

For some time after the death of his wife a man will not dress in fine clothes or colors. And he won't go to social dances. He won't even be invited, because the people know he isn't thinking of such things. A woman will not attend the social dancing at a puberty rite, though it is held several months after her husband's death. She will wait about a year before she will go to such affairs.

Moreover, regardless of all warnings concerning the danger of excessive grief, some individuals find it impossible to repress their sorrow:

A woman may wail for a dead relative before sunrise for years after he dies if some special calamity has come which she thinks wouldn't have come if the relative were alive. Or she may wail when she sees a special friend of her dead son, or one who is of the same age and looks like him.

While the relatives are observing the necessary rites, the ghost of the departed makes its way or is led by other ghostly kin to the underworld, "a beautiful place beneath the ground, where a nice stream of water flows between banks that are lined with cottonwood trees, and everything is green." This home of the departed has been variously termed by informants "where the cottonwoods stand in a line," "ground that is streaked with red," "underground," "where they go off," and "where they go down." The last two names refer to the manner of reaching this subterranean paradise:

Our concept is down, a place beneath. When I was a child, many years ago, the Chiricahua never talked about where other Indians go at death. They just talked about where their own people, the Chiricahua, go. We think of a dead person going on to another life—of his whole body, as it was on earth, going to the other world. He is really transferred to that other world.

When a person is very sick and is unconscious, it is said that he is somewhere else, that his ghost has gone where the dead people are, to visit his friends. If he regains consciousness, it is because his ghost gets back again, and when he gets well he may tell where he was. Every once in a while someone has an experience like this. That is how we know where the place is and what it looks like.

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CHIRICAHUA APACHE MATERIAL RELATING TO SORCERY

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THE major anxieties of the Chiricahua Apache Indians of the Southwest relate to sickness and to sorcery. However, since much of the sickness is explained, directly or indirectly, in terms of the use of evil power (sorcery), the greatest consternation is caused by the likelihood of attacks through baneful supernatural means.

Chiricahua Apache do not like to discuss the topic of witchcraft. Some informants who were willing to talk about anything else, even the most intimate matters, simply refused to give information on this subject. There are a number of reasons for this. In the first place, to demonstrate too much knowledge of witchcraft places a person under suspicion of being a witch himself; too great a familiarity with the ways of those who "kill in secret" is considered a result of unhealthy interests or dubious practices. Also, an element of risk is involved. To speak freely about witches is to invite their attention and persecution, especially if the comments, as those of any decent Apache should be, are critical. Finally, the entire area of thought is so conducive to fear and so completely filled with unpleasant memories that the ordinary informant shrinks from exposing himself to the dreams and thoughts which are likely to follow such a discussion. Usually it is only when he is burning with indignation over some "evidence" of witchcraft or when he is in the midst of a feud with someone whom he is prepared to label a witch that the Chiricahua will express himself on this subject.

Thus the five accounts published here deal with an aspect of Chiricahua culture about which it is difficult to recover abundant material. They illustrate the Chiricahua Apache concept of the

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791 539 they tied him up, hung him up in the sun so he couldn't move. They were going to kill him there.

But some of the Hot Springs people asked Cochise about it. They wanted to know why he was treating this man like this; they wanted to know what Enti had done. Enti was sweating there in the sun and he was all cramped up from the way he was tied. "Kill me if you are going to and have it over," he told Cochise.

"Never mind, we'll take care of you when we're good and ready," Cochise told him and went off with some of the Hot Springs people, explaining what Enti had done over in his country.

While Cochise was away telling these things to some of the Hot Springs men, my father came along. He had been drinking and was feeling pretty happy. He saw Enti hung there, twisting and suffering from the heat. He took his knife and cut the ropes. Enti jumped on a horse and got away again. This was the time he came to Mescalero country. Cochise was certainly angry when he found out Enti was gone. But he was afraid to get after my father, for my father had many friends there.

Enti was finally killed at Mescalero. He made many enemies. Every time he got drunk he would tell someone, "I'm a witch and I'm going to kill you." So one time they killed him.[19]

He knew that Enti was his name. They called him that right to his face.[20]

787 539 ### 5. *The Man Who Signed Up With the Devil*

It's a very nasty thing I heard about a certain man. This happened about 1913, the spring of 1913, twenty years ago this month. Everybody says this fellow is a witch. He got sick

754 [19] There is considerable evidence that there were Chiricahua Apache who believed that they could harm or kill fellow tribesmen whom they disliked by means of supernatural power and who made threats and boasts concerning such activity, usually when under the influence of intoxicants.

551 578 [20] A Chiricahua will address a person by name only in anger or in an emergency situation. The implication here is that this man was occasionally called by this unsavory name in anger.

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787 796 539 [795] with horns and a tail with spears on; a red Devil, and every time he spoke, fire came out of his mouth.[23] The Devil told me, 'There's only one way you can be saved. You have to promise me that you'll be a faithful worker for me. Are you going to do it? If you say no, you're going to fall straight down and go to those beasts.'"

Then he replied, "Yes, I promise you I'll be a faithful worker for you if you will let me live in the world once more."

The man said, "All at once the Devil says, 'All right, stand up on the bank,' and he disappeared for a while. And then came the Devil with a high table and a big book and red ink. And he put the table there, and the book there, and I was standing right there. And he commenced to open the book, all written with red ink. He said, 'You see those men living here. Those are my men. They are living on earth. They are signed up with me already.' He kept turning the pages and came to the list of names. It was a big book and there were many pages to fill still. The Devil said, 'If you promise me you will do everything in this world that is wicked, if you will engage in mean ways and all that, I'll let you live a long while.'"

And they claim this man said, "All right," and signed up with him. After he signed his name the Devil disappeared. Then he opened his eyes. He was back on earth. His people were all crying and shouting.

He said, "What are you crying for? I'm not dead."

From then on he got well. He's a good worker too.

[178] [578] [23] In this account the Devil takes the place of evil power of older Chiricahua traditions and prolongs the life of the man who agrees to do his bidding. Needless to say, the person who made these allegations is a political and social enemy of the one who is accused of "signing up" with the Devil.